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PSYCHOLOGICAL LITERATURE

An Introduction to Social Psychology, by WILLIAM McDougall. Methuen & Co., London, 1908. pp. 351.

This book is one more token of the increasing leaning of psychologists to pass from the study of the individual to that of society. It is an inclination which the sociologist especially should encourage, for he needs the services of his brother scientist in order to lay bare "the springs of human action, the impulses and motives that sustain bodily and mental activity and regulate conduct." How much Ethics, Political Economy, the Philosophy of History, and Jurisprudence have suffered from an insufficient understanding of their psychological foundation, is indicated in the introduction.

The indispensable preliminary of all social psychology is, we are told, the study of the springs of human action, for "social psychology has to show how, given the native propensities and capacities of the individual human mind, all the complex mental life of societies is shaped by them and in turn reacts upon the course of their develop-

ment and operation in the individual." (p. 18.)

The first section (pp. 19-264) is offered as a propædeutic of Social Science. In the second section (pp. 265-351) are "indicated some of the ways in which the principal instincts and primary tendencies of the human mind play their parts in the lives of human societies." I shall devote the space at my disposal entirely to the first section, for it not only makes up three-quarters of the volume, but it contains also most of what there is in it of originality and importance.

The author's starting point is the proposition that human nature has everywhere and at all times certain inherited tendencies which are the essential motive powers of all thought and action. These innate tendencies are either specific or general. The first are the instincts. His definition of instincts is noteworthy for the role ascribed in them to consciousness. They are not compound reflex actions for "every instance of instinctive behavior involves a knowing of some thing or object, a feeling in regard to it, and a striving towards or away from that object." (p. 26.) He insists upon the psychical aspect of instinct because in its absence it would be "impossible to understand the part played by instincts in the development of the human (p. 30.) Of the three parts — afferent, central, efferent—of the innate disposition, the first and the third are widely modifiable, while the central part persists throughout the life history of the individual as the essential unchanging nucleus of the instinctive disposition. As the central part determines the impulse to action and the visceral changes, its constancy means the constancy of the affective aspect of the instinct (p. 42).

In the third chapter is presented a view of the relation of emotion to instinct which the author is, it seems to me, warranted in regarding as embodying an advance in the understanding of this difficult problem. McDougall regards each one of the primary emotions as the affective aspect of one of the principal instincts and the derived emotions as the outcome of the interaction of several instinctive dispositions. According to this definite relation, the emotions have no independent existence; they come and go with instincts or other in-

nate motor tendencies. Those familiar with the theory of emotion set forth by Dewey and Paulhan will regret that McDougall has not made use of it. For it seems that a completely satisfactory view of emotion must take into account the rôle played in its production by antagonistic motor tendencies. The rest of the chapter is given up to a study of the principal instincts of man and, first, to the more definite ones. Each instinct is taken up together with its affective aspect. The principal instincts and the primary emotions are:

1. The Instinct of flight and the emotion of fear, an instinct with a double tendency in most animals, one of flight and one of concealment.

- 2. The Instinct of repulsion and the emotion of disgust.
- 3. The Instinct of curiosity and the emotion of wonder.
- 4. The Instinct of pugnacity and the emotion of anger.
- 5. The Instinct of self-abasement (or subjection) and the emotion of subjection.

6. The Instinct of self-assertion (or self-display) and the emotion of elation.

7. The parental instinct and the tender emotion.

Some have refused to place this last emotion among the primary. McDougall holds that "the most powerful of the instincts" is accompanied by a strong and definite emotion, namely the tender emotion. There is a touch of scorn in the tone with which he rejects the doctrine which would make the tender feelings as purely self-seeking as any other pleasure. He finds in this instinct-emotion the root of disinterested indignation, itself the ultimate root of justice and of public law. If we hold with Bain to hedonic calculation, instead of to instinct-emotion, "disinterested beneficence and moral indignation . . . remain a paradox and a miracle." (p. 79.)

The role of pleasure and pain in conduct is discussed in several places (pp. 8-10, 43, 154 ff, 190, 237, 256). Everywhere he opposes the instinctive impulse to the guidance of pleasure and pain. Yet he does not commit the mistake of denying these processes all influence on action, "they serve . . . to modify instinctive processes, pleasure tending to sustain and prolong any mode of action, pain to cut it short; under their prompting and guidance are affected those modifications and adaptations of the instinctive bodily movements." . . .

(p. 43.)

Among the less well-defined emotional tendencies he considers, are the instinct of reproduction, sexual jealousy, female coyness, gregari-

ousness, acquisition and construction.

Sympathy, suggestion and imitation are brought together in an instructive way in Chapter IV, for these three "general or non-specific innate tendencies" are as many forms of mental interaction. Sympathy involves chiefly the affective; suggestion, the cognitive; imitation the conative aspect of mental life. We speak, for instance, of imitation when the prominent result of the interaction is the reproduction of the bodily movements of one person by another. These three innate tendencies are not to be called instincts for they do not conform to the three tests of a true instinct: there is, in imitation, for instance, nothing specific in the nature of the sense-impressions by which the movements are excited or guided, no common affective state and no common impulse seeking satisfaction in some particular change of state (p. 103). The expression "instinct of imitation" has been used so loosely of late that one is grateful for this analysis and classification.

The observation that animals in their fighting plays do not hurt each other suggests to our author a modification of the theory of Prof.

Groos. Fighting plays are not the manifestation of the fighting-instinct restrained by a strong volitional control; they are the expression of a particular modified form of the combative instinct, an instinct differentiated from and having an independent existence alongside the original instinct (pp. 110-112). I cannot persuade myself that individual adaptation of the fighting instinct does not account satisfactorily for the play. Animals learn surprisingly fast how to adapt the in-tensity of their efforts to particular circumstances. If, however, Mc-Dougall's opinion should be accepted, would it not have to be extended so as to include practically all plays, for every one of them is the expression of an instinct definitely modified?

In Chapter V is discussed the nature of the sentiments and the constitution of some of the complex emotions. His attempt to exhibit admiration, awe, gratitude, scorn, envy, reproach, jealousy, resentment, shame, etc., as fusions of the primary emotions considered in an earlier chapter, is illuminating and displays, in many places, an admirable penetration. McDougall accepts as valid and of great value Shaud's doctrine of sentiment. On several points, however, he separates himself from Shaud, whose views, unfortunately for the psychologist, have not yet been fully published. One such point is the nature of sorrow and of joy (pp. 80, 149 ff). They are regarded by many as primary emotions; our author looks upon them as "pleasure-pain qualifications of emotional states rather than emotions capable of standing alone." Joy is more than pleasure, "it is a complex emotional state in which one or more of the primary emotions, developed within the system of a strong sentiment, plays an essential part. We ought, then, properly to speak not of joy, but of joyous emotion."

If our emotions and our impulses were not organized, our social relations and conduct would be chaotic and unpredictable. An organized system of emotional dispositions centred about some object is what Shaud calls a sentiment. The remaining four chapters of the first section are given up to the development of the sentiments and chiefly to that of the self-regarding sentiment which is, together with the sentiment for self-control, the master sentiment of a fully developed person. Love, hate and respect form the three main classes of sentiments.

Four levels of conduct are distinguished: "(1) the stage of instinctive behavior modified only by the influence of the pains and pleasures that are incidentally experienced in the course of instinctive activities; (2) the stage in which the operation of the instinctive impulses is modified by the influence of rewards and punishments administered more or less systematically by the social environment; (3) the stage in which conduct is controlled in the main by the anticipation of social praise and blame; (4) the highest stage, in which conduct is regulated by an ideal of conduct that enables a man to act in the way that seems to him right regardless of the praise or blame of his immediate social environment," (p. 181.) The first and second levels do not involve more than the promptings of instinct; the two others are made possible by the appearance of the idea of the self. The development of the idea of the self is, of course, closely bound up with that of the self-regarding sentiment.

The influence of praise and blame on men's conduct passes all rational grounds. Whence this profound influence? The conclusion reached is that it is the outcome of "the influence of authority or power, primarily exercised in bringing rewards and punishments and [of] the impulse of active sympathy towards harmony of feeling and emotion with our fellows." (p. 201.)

There remains to be shown how from the merely egoistic levels man rises to the fourth and highest. Attention is first drawn to a connecting link. Men may be moved not so much by the approval or disapproval of some one, as by the fact that this approval or disapproval is pleasant to the one who expresses it. This motive "constitutes . . . a very effective supplement to the egoistic motives." (p.203). But it is through original moral judgments of approval and disapproval, and not through unquestioned subserviency to praise and blame, that a man rises to the higher plane of conduct. In those primitive societies in which rigid rules govern every detail of life, original moral judgments are hardly possible, whereas the diversities of the moral codes of the various circles among which the civilized man moves stimulates reflection and leads to original moral judgments. Thus are formed an ideal of conduct and "a sentiment for a perfected or completely moral life" without which no man will be able to reach the highest plane of conduct.

A final point remains to be elucidated. How comes it that in some men-those regarded as the best-the presence of an ideal and of a sentiment for the ideal become the dominant motives of conduct. The elucidation of this dynamic problem leads to a valuable discussion of the nature of volition. McDougall agrees with James that "the essential achievement of the will is to attend to a difficult object and hold it fast before the mind;" and he maintains further that this achievement is due to an addition to the energy with which the idea of the desired end maintains itself in consciousness. But he is a determinist; for him the chief source of this addition is in conations, desires and aversions arising within the self-regarding sentiment (p. 248), and so he defines volition "the supporting or re-enforcing of a desire or conation by the co-operation of an impulse excited within the system of the self-regarding sentiment." (p. 249.) tial mark of volition [when separated from the other varieties of conation is that the personality as a whole, or the central feature or nucleus of the personality, the man himself, . . . upon the side of the weaker motive. . . ." (p. 240.) . is thrown

The operation of the self-regarding sentiment in him who has conceived the ideal of the perfectly moral life, gives the appearance of independence of the appeal of society, "it enables him to substitute himself, as it were, for his social environment." (p. 254.) "Moral advance and the development of volition consist, then, not in the coming into play of factors of a new order . . . but in the development of the self-regarding sentiment and in the improvement or refinement of the 'gallery' before which we display ourselves and this refinement may continue until the 'gallery' becomes an ideal spectator or group of spectators, or, in the last resort, one's own critical self, standing as the representative of such spectators." (p. 257.) This ultimate reference, in the highest type of conduct, to self-respect will give most readers a shock of surprise. One was not prepared for this apotheosis of self-esteem. The author does not, however, if I understand him right, set up the maintenance of one's self-respect as the highest aim of conduct. His view is rather that the ideal of conduct, the aim which the good man endeavors to realize, is thoroughly altruistic, namely the highest good of the greatest number, but that ideal to have power must be backed by some of the strong innate dispositions, otherwise it would remain a relatively impotent item of knowledge. The self-regarding sentiment it is which supplies the energy necessary for the realization of the altruistic ideal. But even when thus understood, his analyses of instances of self-sacrifice (p. 252) represent, in my opinion, what actually takes place in the mind

of the majority of noble men but is not true of those generally regarded as the finest fruit of social development. These rare people, I will venture to say, act as they do in great moral crises without reference to the effect of their conduct on their self-esteem. Or, rather, one had better say that in them the consciousness of self has lost its original narrow individualistic meaning and has taken on a social significance. McDougall's history of the development of self-consciousness appears to me defective in that he does not recognize that the completed moralizing process involves the existence of a form of social consciousness which includes the idea of the self. This seems to me the most serious criticism one can make of a book, which because of considerable originality and definiteness of presentation, cannot fail to stir up much discussion. Considered as a whole, its most striking characteristic is the masterly firmness and thoroughness with which it traces the development of man up to his complete socialization on the basis of fundamental innate dispositions and social interaction.

Bryn Mawr College

James H. Leuba.

The Psychology of Skill, with Special Reference to its Acquisition in Typewriting, by W. F. BOOK. University of Montana Publications, Bulletin No. 53. Psychological Series, No. 1, pp. 188.

The object of this study, the work of which was done in major part at Clark University, was two-fold. (1) To determine accurately the course of the practice curve for a number of individuals. (2) To analyze consciousness for the different practice stages shown by the individual curves.

Recording apparatus was attached to an Underwood typewriter and gave records on a smoked drum of the following items: (1) Stroke for each letter; (2) strokes on the word spacer; (3) movement of the carriage for a new line. Simultaneously with these, records were made on the drum of (4) the time spent by the writer (in the visual method of writing) in looking at the copy, the experimenter recording this by means of a separate key; (5) time marker beating seconds; (6) pulse rate of the writer while writing. The normal pulse rate was taken in another manner each time before beginning. Detailed introspective observation was required of the writers at all times. Eleven observers participated, including beginners who continued practice until a semi-expert stage had been reached, and professional and expert writers. Both the touch and the visual methods of writing were employed. In addition, three of the observers wrote practice sentences until an expert speed was obtained in these sentences.

The presentation of the results falls, roughly, into two parts. (I) Analysis of the learning consciousness. (2) Explanation of the characteristics of the practice curves. For both the visual and the touch methods of writing four stages of practice are made out. For the touch method they are the following: (a) The beginning stage, when the whole writing process involves a number of definite conscious steps. (b) The letter association stage, which is reached when the "sight of the letter in the copy or the first pronunciation of it calls up at once the direct movement for striking the proper key." (c) Syllable and word association stage. This is reached when incipient pronunciation of the word calls forth at once the group of movements, when the motor-tactual image for the group of strokes (general 'feel' for the group) as a means of writing is being eliminated. (d) Expert stage, writing by phrases and sentences. This is reached when the writing becomes continuous, the strokes following the incipient pronunciation of the words without breaks or further conscious processes. In learning by the visual method these several practice stages are represented by different conscious factors, but in the expert stage the